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PRIORITY

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STATE

ACTION: NONE INFO: ODPH-H, ODPN-N, ODPS-S, OGI/EC/EA,  
 OGI/11C/P1, OOE/EE, OOE/EE/R, OOE/EEPO-2, OOE/QAG, OOE/RBOP, OOE/RDEF,  
 OOE/RNMP, OOE/RTRD, OOE/WE, PLANFAC-E ( ), POLE-E ( ), RF,  
 SOV/CS/E/E, SOV/CS/E/P, SOV/CS/E/T, SOV/EAC, SOV/PA/F, SOV/SFC, SOV/SFD,  
 FILE, SE/DRP, SE/PCH, SE/RR, CI, CR/E, CRES/ARD, D/FBIS-2, EPS/EG-2,  
 IAD/IC, ICS/DHC/EU, NIO/PE, NIO/USSR, OER, OIA/ERSS, SAG/MEB, SAG/PPB,  
 SAG/SEB-3, STD/MTC, STD/MTW, ZSE/DRP, ZSE/PCH, ZSE/RR, (27/W)

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 TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1921  
 INFO RUHHPOL/POLISH SITUATION COLLECTIVE  
 RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC 2629  
 RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC  
 RUEKJCS/DOD WASHDC  
 RUSNAAL/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN  
 RUFDAAA/CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG  
 RHFRAB/CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN  
 RUDORRA/USNMR SHAPE /INTAF/  
 BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 10359

USNMR FOR INTAF

E.O. 12356: DECL: 10/22/88  
 TAGS: PGOV, PINT, PINS, PL  
 SUBJ: SOLIDARNOSC -- IMPOTENCE AND FRUSTRATION

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: SOLIDARNOSC, THE INSTITUTION AND THE UNION,  
 IS IN TROUBLE. ITS COMMUNICATION, TECHNICAL AND SECURITY  
 PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN THE SUBJECT OF EMBASSY REPORTING  
 ELSEWHERE. THIS CABLE CONSIDERS THE SOLIDARNOSC RANK  
 AND FILE AND THE SOLIDARNOSC LEADERS, ALONG WITH THEIR  
 INTELLECTUAL ADVISERS. IT CONCLUDES THAT:

-- UNION INTELLECTUALS ARE EXHAUSTED, BEREFT OF NEW  
 IDEAS, SUSPICIOUS OF ONE ANOTHER AND ARE THEREFORE  
 UNLIKELY TO PLAY THEIR TRADITIONAL ROLE OF "THE  
 UNION'S MOTOR".

-- THE RANK-AND-FILE SEEM EQUALLY TIRED (EVEN IF  
 MORE ANGRY), NO LONGER BELIEVE THAT EVERY  
 UNDERGROUND LEAFLET CONTAINS THE ONE MAGIC CALL  
 WHICH WILL MAKE THE WHOLE NATION RISE UP AGAINST  
 THE MARTIAL LAW REGIME AND HAVE BEEN BADLY SCARED  
 BY THE ECONOMIC, POLICE AND SECURITY FORCES SO  
 SKILLFULLY USED BY THE REGIME;

-- THE UNION, AT LEAST IN ITS INSTITUTIONAL ROLE,  
 IS UNLIKELY TO PLAY A MAJOR PART IN THE STRUGGLE  
 FOR POLAND'S FUTURE. ITS IDEAS AND TENETS ENDURE.

3. EPITAPHS: THE MOST BITTER CONVERSATION WE'VE HEARD  
 LATELY -- A THREE-HOUR ARGUMENT BETWEEN A SOLIDARNOSC  
 INTELLECTUAL AND A FORMER SOLIDARNOSC MEMBER WHO WORKS ON  
 THE PRINTING PRESSES AT TRYBUNA LUDU -- ENDED WITH THE  
 PRINTER'S ANGRY PARTING SHOT: "IN TWO YEARS ALL THAT WILL  
 BE LEFT OF SOLIDARNOSC WILL BE A FEW HISTORIC DREAMS. THE  
 GOVERNMENT WILL OWN ALL ITS REALITIES." CHURCH SOURCES  
 CONTINUE TO TELL US THAT, IN THE WORDS OF JERZY DABROWSKI,

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"SOLIDARNOSC HAS TO BE KILLED TO SAVE ITS IDEAS." AND THE GOVERNMENT, PERHAPS SEEKING TO CAPITALIZE ON THE POPULAR DISILLUSIONMENT/IMPOTENCE IS MAKING ITS CONCLUSIONS CLEAR. ON OCT 19, GOP SPOKESMAN URBAN SAID, DURING HIS WEEKLY PRESS CONFERENCE, THAT

- "EXTREMIST GROUPS" HAVE NOT GIVEN UP AND ARE STILL TRYING TO EXACERBATE THE SOCIAL SITUATION;
- THESE GROUPS ARE NOT CAPABLE OF ORGANIZING LARGE-SCALE STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS;
- POLISH SOCIETY, IN SPITE OF A FREQUENTLY-EXPRESSED "WAIT-AND-SEE" ATTITUDE, HAS GENERALLY DEMONSTRATED "APPROVAL FOR THE NEW TRADE UNION LAW".

4. MARTIAL LAW: THE EARLY DAYS OF RANK AND FILE ANGER AT MARTIAL LAW SEEMED TO SPLIT THE UNION MEMBERSHIP INTO THOSE -- PRIMARILY INTELLECTUALS -- WHO SAS THE FIGHT WITH THE REGIME AS LONG AND HARD, AND THOSE -- PRIMARILY SHOP FLOOR ACTIVISTS-- WHO BELIEVED THAT ONE DECISIVE STREET OR JOB ACTION COULD END MARTIAL LAW. THE HISTORIC SUSPICION POLISH INTELLECTUALS HAVE FOR POLISH WORKERS AND THE EQUALLY HISTORIC SUSPICIONS, FUELED BY GOP-SPONSORED ANTI-SEMITISM, OF POLISH WORKERS FOR POLISH INTELLECTUALS MEANT THAT UNDER THE PRESSURES OF MARTIAL LAW EACH BECAME CONVINCED OF THE OTHER'S FALLIBILITY.

5. THE TKK: WHEN, IN MARCH 1982, THE UNION'S REMAINING LEADERSHIP FINALLY BEGAN TO ACT AS A SINGLE BODY (THROUGH FORMATION OF THE TEMPORARY NATIONAL COMMISSION), ALL OF THE DIVISIVE TENDENCIES WHICH HAD MARKED THE UNION'S HEYDAY WERE STILL PRESENT. THE TKK QUICKLY BECAME A BATTLEGROUND IN WHICH MAZOWSZE LEADER ABIGNIEW BUJAK REPRESENTED THE "MODERATES", THOSE INCLINED TO ACCEPT THE REALITY OF JARUZELSKI'S POWER AND DEAL WITH IT. SILESIAN LEADER WLADYSLAW FRASYNIUK AND GDANSK LEADER BOGDAN LIS WERE DIEHARDS IN COMPARISON, INSISTING THAT THE UNION MOVE QUICKLY INTO FULL-BLOWN OPPOSITION EXPRESSED IN STRIKES, STREET ACTIONS AND OTHER REMINDERS THAT THE REGIME DID NOT HAVE POPULAR SUPPORT. LIS AND FRASYNIUK NEVER ACCEPTED -- AND, ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCES, LIS STILL DOES NOT ACCEPT -- THE VIEW THAT THE REGIME CAN PUT DOWN ANY ACTIONS THE UNION STIRS UP. THE UNION'S NATIONAL LEADERSHIP THUS FINDS ITSELF TODAY, AT THE EVE OF THE FOUR-HOUR GENERAL STRIKE IT HAS CALLED FOR NOVEMBER 10, WITH ITS EARLIER DIVISIONS EXACERBATED AND ITS MEMBERSHIP QUITE AT ODDS WITH ITS INTELLECTUAL ADVISERS.

6. INTELLECTUALS -- WHO'S LEFT: ON DEC 13TH, THE REGIME MOVED EFFECTIVELY TO INTERN THE MAJOR VOICES OF THE UNION. ONE BY ONE, THE WIDEST-RANGING THINKERS AND BEST STRATEGISTS, ALONG WITH THE UNION'S TOP DEMAGOGUES, WERE

PUT INTO THE INTERNMENT CAMPS. ON THE OUTSIDE WERE LEFT:

- A FEW OLDER, LESS OVERTLY "POLITICAL" ADVISERS WHOSE PROXIMITY TO WALESA WAS OVERSHADOWED BY THEIR PROXIMITY TO THE CHURCH (KUKUOWICZ, WIELOWIEJSKI) AND WHOSE CONTACTS WITH THE RANK AND FILE WERE ALMOST NON-EXISTENT;
- A SMALL GROUP OF NOWA (INDEPENDENT PUBLISHING HOUSE) WRITERS WHOSE SUPPORT FOR SOLIDARNOSC HAD BEEN BASED ON A KIND OF VISCERAL ANTI-COMMUNISM AND WHOSE EFFECTIVENESS ON THE OUTSIDE WAS LESSENED BY POLICE SURVEILLANCE (ROBERT TERENTIEW, WITEK CELINSKI);
- A VERY FEW PROFESSIONAL PRESS PEOPLE WHO PUT OUT THE VARIOUS UNION UNDERGROUND PUBLICATIONS (HELENA LUCZYWO);
- A SPRINKLIN OF VERY JUNIOR KOR MEMBERS WHOSE POLITICAL LOYALTY WAS LESS IMPORTANT THAN THEIR AFFILIATIONS WITH INDIVIDUAL LEADERS TO WHOM THEY MIGHT LEAD.

7. INTELLECTUALS -- THEIR INFLUENCE: IN THE HARSCH CRACKDOWNS AND REPEATED ARRESTS WHICH FOLLOWED THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN

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EARLY MAY, A NUMBER OF THE INTELLECTUALS WHO STILL HAD THEIR FREEDOM LOST IT. THAT MEANT THE FIELD WAS LEFT TO THE THIRD- AND FOURTH-LEVEL INTELLECTUAL HANGERS-ON, AND THEY HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO ESTABLISH THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE TKK. MORE RECENTLY, (SEE WARSAW 8435), THE INTELLECTUALS HAVE BECOME BOTH DISILLUSIONED AND FRIGHTENED. THE DISILLUSIONMENT HAS STEMMED FROM WHAT THEY CALL THE "WORKERS' BETRAYAL" (READ: THE REFUSAL TO JOIN IN TRULY MASSIVE PROTESTS ON AUGUST 31); THE FEAR FROM THE EXTENT TO WHICH ALL THE INTELLECTUALS MEANS OF COMMUNICATION (UNDERGROUND PRESS, RADIO SOLIDARNOSC, COMMUNICATIONS/NEWSPAPER DISTRIBUTION NETWORKS) HAVE BEEN PENETRATED, SHUT DOWN OR USED BY SECURITY SERVICES. TODAY'S PICTURE, AS VIEWED BY SEVERAL LEADING TKK INTELLECTUALS, IS OF A UNION BEREFT OF NEW IDEAS, UNABLE TO FIND INSTRUMENTS TO MAKE ITS IDEAS WORK AND TIRED OF THE INCESSANT SECURITY PRESSURES. WORSE YET, SAY OUR SOURCES, IS THE CONTINUING FEELING OF IMPOTENCE THEY HEAR FROM ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. WHAT SEEMS TO COUNT NOW IS WHAT HAPPENS ON THE SHOP FLOOR, AND IT IS IN THAT AREA THAT THE INTELLECTUALS FEEL THEMSELVES WEAKEST.

8. THE RANK AND FILE: UNION MEMBERSHIP WAS EASY IN THE UNION'S GLORIOUS DAYS, A ROMANTIC ATTACHMENT TO THE GREAT DAYS IN THE FIRST GRIM PERIOD OF MARTIAL LAW AND HAS BECOME, INCREASINGLY, A LIABILITY. TWO CLOSELY-CONNECTED REASONS FOR THIS LIABILITY DOMINATE OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH RANK AND FILERS:

-- THE INCREASING EFFICACY OF THE SECURITY SYSTEM. IN A PERIOD OF ECONOMIC SCARCITY, PATRONAGE IS STILL THE BEST WEAPON. AND IN MARTIAL LAW POLAND THE REGIME HAS A MONOPOLY ON SECULAR PATRONAGE. THE WOLF TICKET, PROMISES OF ACCESS TO SCARCE GOODS, THE THREAT OF BEING REMOVED FROM RATION CARD ROSTERS-- ALL THE CARROTS AND STICKS ARE BEING TROTTED OUT. UNION ACTIVITY IS A KNOWN HISTORIC FACT, AND EVEN ORDINARY MEMBERSHIP HAS BECOME A REASONS FOR CLOSE SURVEILLANCE AND SUSPICION. SUSPICION, IN TURN CAN TRANSLATE TO LOSS OF BENEFITS, RATION CARDS, JOBS AND ULTIMATELY, INTO LOSS OF EMPLOYMENT AND A PERMANENT STATE OF UNEMPLOYABILITY;

-- DECREASING UNION PROTECTION: UNION SOLIDARITY HAS BEEN BROKEN ALL OVER POLAND. WHILE WESTERN REPORTERS CONTINUE TO HEAR FROM THEIR UNION SOURCES THAT THE DOCKYARDS IN GDANSK OR THE MINES IN LEGNICA PROVINCE ARE HOTBEDS OF UNIONISM, WE HAVE BEEN TOLD BY WESTERN REPORTERS VISITING THESE SITES THAT THE FACTS ARE DIFFERENT. OUR RANK AND FILE SOURCES REPORT THAT THERE IS LITTLE OR NO PROTECTION FROM FELLOW WORKERS, THAT THIS IS A TIME FOR HUNKERING DOWN AND SURVIVAL INSTINCTS, AND THAT FAMILY PRESSURES MAKE IT HARD TO PROTECT ANY INDIVIDUAL CHOSEN FOR OFFICIAL PERSECUTION.

9. RANK AND FILE -- PROGNOSIS: FACTORY WORKERS AND BLUE COLLAR PERSONNEL ALL OVER POLAND AGREE WITH EACH OTHER ABOUT THE ANGER THEY FEEL. THAT MUCH IS CLEAR. WHAT IS FAR LESS CLEAR IS THE EXTENT TO WHICH THEY BELIEVE THEY CAN, THROUGH THEIR OWN ACTIONS, CHANGE THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THEY LIVE AND WORK. A GLOOMY RANK AND FILE VIEW THAT HAS THE RISK OUTWEIGHING POSSIBLE BENEFITS IS ECHOED IN CONVERSATIONS REPORTED BY THE WESTERN PRESS, BY DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES AND BY POLES WITH ACCESS TO LARGE NUMBERS OF FACTORY WORKERS. WE NOTE THAT JOB ACTIONS IN RECENT

WEEKS IN POLAND HAVE APPEARED TO BE SPONTANEOUS, OFTEN ESCAPING FROM SOLIDARNOSC CONTROL AND, WITH SOME EXCEPTIONS HAVE TENDED TO BECOME TRANSMUTED INTO CLASHES BETWEEN YOUTHFUL MALES AND THE MILITIA, WHOSE ORDERS SEEM TO BE TO STAY OUT OF FACTORIES BUT TO ALLOW NOTHING TO HAPPEN ON THE STREET. THE CONFRONTATIONS THUS PRODUCED SEEM TO FOLLOW THE SAME SCENARIO ALL OVER POLAND: THE SECURITY TROOPS ARE SEEKING TO INTIMIDATE, TO BREAK THE CROWD AND TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION OF TOTAL

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CONTROL. IT'S GOOD CORWD CONTROL TACTICS WITH A HEAVY OVERLAY OF OFFICAL INTIMIDATION. AGAINST THESE TACTICS. THE UNION TIME AND AGAIN FINDS ITS MEMBERSHIP SCATTERED AND THE NON-FAMILIAR PATTERN OF YOUTHFUL MALE CONFRONTATION WITH THE MILITIA IN PLACE.

10. "THE ONLY PATRIOTIC DUTY LEFT TO A SOLIDARNOSC MEMBER IS TO EMIGRATE". SOME TIME AGO, THAT BITTER PHRASE PRONOUNCED BY MAZOWSZE SOLIDARNOSC MEMBERS STARTED US LOOKING FOR OTHER SIGNS THAT PEOPLE ARE GIVING UP. WE FOUND THEM. A 34-YEAR OLD REPORTER, ONE OF THE UNDERGROUND'S MOST ACTIVIE DISTRIBUTORS OF CLANDESTINE LITERATURE, HAS GIVEN UP -- HE'S LOOKING FOR A U.S. OR CANADIAN VISA. WITEK CELINSKI, FAR LESS FAMOUS THAN HIS BROTHER (WALESA'S FORMER PERSONAL ADVISOR), A 35-YEAR OLD SURGEON, HAS GIVEN UP AND CAN BE SEEN IN VARIOUS EMBASSIES IN WARSAW. A SCHOOL TEACHER WHO HAD BEEN WORKING WITH THE PRISON RELIEF COMMITTEE AND WHO, THREE WEEKS AGO WAS WAS STILL BERATING WOULD-BE EMIGRES, HAS GONE TO THE AUSTRIAN EMBASSY TO SEEK A VISA. OUR CONVERSATIONS WITH UNION INTELLECTUALS SUGGEST THAT THEY FEEL IMPOTENT, THAT THEY NO LONGER BELIEVE THEY CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE, THAT THEY FEEL, IN MANY CASES, THREATENED IN THEIR PROFESSIONAL LIVES, AND THAT THEY ARE READY TO START OVER, SOMEWHERE ELSE. EMIGRATION IS BECOMING THE LAST RESORT OF THE INTELLECTUALS NOT FAMOUS ENOUGH TO ENJOY LARGE SCALE PUBLIC ESTEEM AND NO LONGER SUFFICIENTLY COMMITTED TO KEEP TRYING TO WORK OUT A SOLUTION IN THIS SYSTEM AND THIS POLITICAL BALANCE OF FORCES.

11. THE RANK AND FILE -- ANGER AND FRUSTRATION: FOR MOST RANK AND FILERS, THE PROSPECTS ARE LESS APPEALING. FEW OF THEM BELIEVE THEY WILL BE ABLE TO EMIGRATE. FAR LESS COSMOPOLITAN THAN THE INTELLECTUALS WITH WHOME THEY BRIEFLY JOINED HANDS, THEY ARE ONCE MORE REMINDED THAT THEIR WORLD IS A HARSHER ONE THAN THAT OF THE UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS AND WRITERS WHO CAN GET OUT. THEY SEE NO RELEASE FROM THEIR PRESENT CONDITIONS-- PAY IS NOT KEEPING UP WITH RISING LIVING COSTS; RATIONING ON A FEW ITEMS HAS BECOME RATIONING ON ALMOST EVERY ITEM THEY NEED FOR DAILY LIFE; THE PRIVATE MARKET CATERS TO A DIFFERENT LEVEL OF SOCIETY (CHILDREN'S COATS, SELLING FOR 1,400 ZLOTIES AT A DOWNTOWN WARSAW DEPARTMENT STORE WERE SELLING FOR 15,000 ZLOTIES ON THE PRIVATE MARKET LAST WEEK -- THE DEPARTMENT STORE GOT FOUR SUCH COATS LAST SATURDAY; THE PRIVATE STALL WE VISITED HAD MORE THAN TWENTY); HEALTH CARE IS SIGNIFICANTLY DEGRADED; SCHOOL SUPPLIES ARE RATIONED. THIS IS A TIME FOR THEM TO PROTECT THEIR POSSESSIONS AND FAMILIES WITH "NEAR-PALEOLITHIC FEROCITY," AS ONE GARDENER TOLD EMBOFF.

12. WHERE THE ANGER GOES NOBODY KNOWS. PREDICTIONS OF THE MOST PROBABLE PATH OF POLISH EVENTS USUALLY LEAVE OUT THE RANDOM FACTORS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE REGIME IS LIKELY TO MAKE A MISTAKE. IT MAY BE THE KILLING OF SOMEONE'S GRANDMOTHER IN A PUBLIC PLACE, OR IT MAY BE THE FIRING OF A CRANE OPERATOR AT THE WRONG MOMENT. IT MAY HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH JOB ACTIONS OR STREET DEMONSTRATIONS. THUS, THE REATERST DANGER FOR JARUZELSKI REMAINS THE POSSIBILITY THAT AN UNPREDICATABLE INCIDENT MAY MUSHROOM INTO A NATIONAL CONFRONTATION, REGARDLESS OF THE STRENGTH OF SOLIDARNOSC.

13. IF SOLIDARNOSC DOES NOT MOUNT SIGNIFICANT STRIKES ON NOV 10/11 OR DEC 13, AS IT HAS CALLED FOR, THE UNDERGROUND UNION LEADERSHIP WILL LOSE CREDIBILITY. OF COURSE, SPONTANEOUS STRIKES ARE ALSO POSSIBLE (WE THINK MORE PROBABLE THAN IS A COORDINATED RESPONSE TO THE TKK APPEAL), AND WE SHOULD EXPECT UNDERGROUND SOLIDARNOSC TO CLAIM CREDIT FOR THEM IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN ITS CREDITIBILITY. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT SOLIDARNOSC RETAINS THE HEARTS AND

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MINDS OF THE POLISH PEOPLE. WILG'S

END OF MESSAGE

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